

PEACE NEWS

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CAN THE HUMAN MIND COPE WITH OUR SITUATION?

A world revolution in full progress

THE world-revolution has fairly begun. It is not going to be a pleasant affair. I don't vouch for the figures given at the conference of scientists in London, when it was said that 60 million human beings faced starvation and death in the next six months. But they cannot be very far from the mark.

Though the main focus of starvation will be India, the distressing "spectacle of the representatives of a Socialist Republic and a Monarchy ranting the ancient rubbish about prestige and honour while the workers of the world are starving" (New Statesman, Feb. 23) is not paralleled by the behaviour of the Indian politicians. Yet they could claim the excuse of regarding famine as a normal incident.

Truly, it looks as though the human mind was beaten by the situation which it has created for itself. Human behaviour has become regressive. The human race has

Observer's Commentary

panicked. And the panic is as manifest in Stalin as in Truman, in Bevin as in Vyshinsky. The world-revolution is beyond control. It is a world-upheaval of which the consequences are quite beyond prediction: a vast biological crisis which will probably result—after incredible travail—in a mutation of the human species.

Privileged spectators

OF this grandiose spectacle it is undoubtedly better to be a spectator than a merely blind participant. Since one has to bear the burden of consciousness, it is well to enjoy its privileges. But it is not easy to find a line of truly responsible action in a crisis so all-pervasive. It is equally difficult to establish a level from which the actions of statesmen can be criticised. The fact is that the best of them are rather frighteningly superficial. State and Church—where those institutions are distinguishable—or the deified State—where they are not—equally betray the evidences of the tired and beaten mind. The actual speech and conduct of the representatives of Soviet Russia is such as to postpone for a long while the fulfilment of the expectation that something essentially new and creative is emerging there. If these are fair specimens of the new ruling class in Russia, one must conclude that they are losing the use of language—as a vehicle of communication of ideas. They gesticulate with their mouths, which is not a bad description of propaganda.

Churchill's tragic irony

BUT it's a queer sensation to read the news nowadays. The thing which we foretold is actually happening. Civilization is visibly breaking down: the British Empire is visibly breaking up! Rebellion in the Indian Navy; anti-British riots in Cairo. It is actually happening. Yet it seems much more like a dream than it did when one was anticipating it. Memory turns back to the day when Mr. Churchill declared in Parliament that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India, and that he had not been called to be Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

Those words seemed then a remarkable example of what in a Greek play is called "tragic irony": when a character, known to the audience to be in the grip of destiny, speaks with complete conviction the very opposite of the true situation. The purpose for which Mr. Churchill had been called to be Prime Minister was precisely that—to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

Today I feel less inclined to blame him than I did then. It seems to me that if a Churchill had not existed, he would have had to be invented. The historical process had to be accomplished; and Churchill enabled this country to march forward to its imperial decline in a mood of blind confidence in itself and its leader.

Facts about food

The gravest crisis in Western Germany since the surrender is now facing the British zone. Unless immediate food aid from outside is forthcoming, very drastic ration cuts must be enforced within the next three weeks.

By mid-March, with nothing more than existing food stocks in the zone, the basic German civilian rations must be cut to little more than a quarter of the existing 1,550 calories daily.

—BUP Feb. 23.

THE ration for very heavy workers (miners, etc.) in Germany is 2,800 calories a day. This is virtually all they get, although it is possible that a few of them grow some vegetables in their back gardens. When they have meals in canteens they are obliged to surrender coupons. This is not the case when British workers use canteens. The British miner's ration is about 3,500 calories a day, but he, unlike the German worker, can buy bread, fish, flour, potatoes, and other vegetables without any ration restrictions. . . . IT HAS BEEN DETERMINED THAT THE AVERAGE WORKMAN IN GREAT BRITAIN CONSUMES MORE THAN FOUR TIMES AS MUCH MEAT, MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH FATS, AND MORE THAN THREE TIMES AS MUCH SUGAR AS THE AVERAGE GERMAN LIVING IN THE BRITISH ZONE.

Some 70 per cent. of the population in our zone of Germany receive 1,550 calories a day. This ration is admitted to be less than the requirements of an average human being for mere maintenance of the organism without any allowance for the extra energy of work. Only in country districts and very small towns can Germans supplement this official ration. . . .

The present acute shortage of artificial fertilizers will be the greatest single obstacle to increased food production in the British zone for the next few years.

—Director of Public Relations, Control Office for Germany and Austria.
Letter in The Times, Feb. 18.

Prelude to moral ascent

DECLINE in one dimension may be the prelude to ascent in another: as in the case of Sweden, the brilliant military power of the 17th century, which has now become a leader in the social arts of peace. So, too, with Denmark. And the liquidation of the imperial portion of the British Empire might be followed by a creative political development of great significance for mankind. That is what we must hope for—a Britain acknowledged to be the moral leader of the small nations of the world. This can only be of their own free will, for Britain now has neither the economic nor the military power to compel them to come in.

On paper, Britain is well set to fulfil the part. She has freely elected a Socialist government, to which the majority even of its political opponents wish well. Even if there is an alternative government, it has not an alternative policy. The success of Britain's domestic economy now depends much less upon the government than the people themselves. And here it is not easy to be sanguine.

Production and slackness

ONE has the impression that the nation is morally exhausted. The slackness on the job of so many of our insufficient industrial army may be only a temporary phenomenon; but it is truly alarming. For it arouses the fear that the apparent assertion of the will to create a new form of the free society may turn out to have been nothing better than an expression of weariness after all.

An experiment in democracy
(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

JOHN SCANLON, remembering the League, holds that

The vital question for UNO is still 'Why War'?

WILL UNO be a better handmaiden of peace than was the departed LON? If testimonials alone were to count then UNO has no superior claims. I could produce speeches commending the League just as eloquent as those delivered about UNO.

At the end of the first week of oratory the Daily Telegraph leading article in a burst of optimism said: "Good will is the indispensable condition. With mutual trust between the Great Powers and general accord not only of Governments but of peoples success would be certain."

But surely Central Hall was overflowing with good will. Without exception all the orators said there must never be another war. UNO has been engaged to ensure that there will be no more war. That, also, was the function of the League, which also overflowed with good will speeches at the outset.

Yet the Daily Telegraph would not consent to have its leaders set up and printed by men whose only qualification was good will. It would expect them to know something about composing and printing. If they did not, good will would not get the paper on to the newstands.

Why are all the statesmen insisting that there must be no more war? The answer would seem to be that all are afraid there may be one. If all the nations were as united for peace as they say they are, then peace would be taken for granted. Instead, UNO feels bound to organise force to prevent a war. If good will is present there is no need for force. If it is not present then they are not united nations, in which case the speeches mean nothing more than those delivered at the inauguration of the League.

Ban the speeches

Now, looking at this as an ordinary citizen, and not as a statesman, I am going to suggest to M. Spaak that in future he adopt a different procedure. First, he should forbid all speeches. Orators have landed us where we are. Instead he should put to all nations the straight question: "Are you afraid that any nation either in or outside UNO has the wish and power to go to war with UNO?"

If each delegate answers a simple question in the same terms as he makes a speech, his answer will be "No." If, on the other hand, any

delegate has a suspicion that there is a Judas at the supper table he ought to say so.

If there was the remotest suspicion that now or in the future any nation or group would force war, then the mission of the UNO is clear. It is to get down to a serious examination of the question: Why do nations go to war? Personally I feel that had this been the one subject for discussion, the meetings would have been worth while. After all an ordinary citizen does not say: I am going to get my feet wet and catch a bad cold in ten years time and therefore must lay in a stock of hot water bottles. He says: I am not going to get my feet wet and I will not need the hot water bottles. UNO, like its predecessor, is concentrating on the hot water bottles.

Up to the peoples

BUT if UNO, like LON, refuses to discuss why nations are likely to go to war, that is no reason why the peoples themselves should ignore it. Even although Mr. Bevin said on January 17 that the last war was due entirely to the Nazi leaders I remember two speeches this year when he gave entirely different reasons. Moreover, if the Nazis alone were willing to make war without a cause, then there would be no need for UNO, speeches on the need to avoid war, and the need for international peace. The force being organised by UNO will certainly not be needed to crush Hitler.

The vital question is still: Why War? In this respect I would call attention to another meeting held at Bretton Woods in May, 1944. No orations were delivered at this Conference, because no orators were invited. It was confined to business men and financiers who, of course, are business men. Up till the present both UNO and the League have merely discussed what steps are necessary if a war seems likely to break out. Bretton Woods discussed, and agreed on, proposals designed to keep pace all the time. Moreover it was dealing with a something which goes on continuously—trade and finance. Wars, on the other hand, only break out occasionally.

Within what framework?

Because of this the Bretton Woods decisions are much more important than those of UNO. The decisions of the League had to be operated within a framework designed by financiers and business men. The decisions of UNO must be operated within the trade and financial framework designed at Bretton Woods. In addition, the designers of Bretton Woods state explicitly that the only guarantee of peace is strict observance of the conditions laid down at Bretton Woods.

The decision of the Central Hall, London, are only of secondary importance in maintaining good will. The day-to-day and year-to-year events in a world given over to free competition will determine the issues of Peace or War. Faithful observance of all the Bretton Woods proposals could, of course, preserve peace. But the question is, can all the nations faithfully observe the conditions? Therefore, if the peoples are to have any influence in determining the issues of Peace or War, it will be necessary to understand the decisions made at Bretton Woods. These will stand when all the oratory of Central Hall has been forgotten, just as the oratory of Geneva was forgotten in the case of France, in 1931, and Germany in 1936.

Semi-detached

"EGLISH and American pacifists," says George Orwell, "often seem to be more hostile to capitalist democracy than to totalitarianism." If we present that appearance it is a lamentable thing, for nothing is more hostile to the spirit and aims of pacifism than totalitarianism.

ON the whole, Peace News has a clean record in this matter. And it may be that Orwell is deceived by appearances. For pacifists, in the nature of things, cannot help being more detached than others, and perhaps see more clearly that totalitarianism is a remedy—worse, indeed, than the disease—for the failures of capitalist democracy. But to understand totalitarianism is not to sympathize with, still less to support it.

THE fundamental social concept of pacifism is the free association of men and women. And a pacifist movement—if it is not to be self-contradictory—has to achieve a new pattern, or many new patterns, of free association. Its business is, in a word, to assist the State to wither away. And one of the simplest ways of helping to that end is to regard it as a personal obligation to support the Peace News fund.

THE EDITOR.

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should be addressed to the Manager

UNO IN THE RAPIDS

TO see life steadily and to see it whole is in these days a difficult assignment. So we are glad to call in aid a fellow observer from France. Our excellent contemporary, "Reforme," whose point of view on most matters is about as close to our own as near-pacifism can be to the whole hog, sums up the present position of UNO with an impressive objectivity.

At Yalta, it says, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin concluded an alliance to regulate the post-war world. At Dumbarton Oaks their representatives clothed this alliance with a collective form. At San Francisco this form was accepted, in the hope that the triumvirate would one day be replaced by a true parliament of the nations.

This hybrid arrangement meant that as soon as Washington, Moscow and London came to loggerheads, UNO would be on the rocks.

The crack came between the last two. If it had been only a passing jolt, the damage could have been repaired. But Russia, reckoning on American indifference in return for a free hand in China, took a series of political initiatives which Britain judged to be aimed at "cutting the throat of the Empire."

Moscow considered that the moment had come to crown its victory by achieving what St. Petersburg had never been able to achieve: a warm-water outlet. Two warm-water outlets in fact: one into the Mediterranean, through the Dardanelles, the other to the Indian Ocean through the Persian gulf.

This she attempted by two simultaneous initiatives: one against Turkey, the other against Persia. The first failed, in its original form anyhow, because Britain maintained that the problem of the Dardanelles remains an international one. The second, after an initial failure, looks more promising. Meanwhile, Turkey's flanks have been turned, by Russia supporting the Levantine states against Britain and demanding that British troops should leave Greece, which would mean the advent of another satellite government.

To this demand Britain has said "No," as she did to the Russian demand for control of Tripolitania. The Mediterranean is Britain's vital artery, since southern Iran is her sole source of oil for her fleet and airforce.

If the conflict can be solved by a *modus vivendi* the alliance—and UNO—will recover. If not—UNO will die.

So "Reforme," with exemplary clarity, sets out the problem. Meanwhile Pravda explains that Russia is acting solely as the champion of the rights of small nations, discreetly forgetting to mention Denmark, Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia.

Six of one to a half-dozen of the other? Honestly, we do not think it is. But why does not Mr. Bevin put all his cards on the table? Why does he not frankly say the oil of Iran is absolutely vital to Britain—and the Suez Canal for that matter—and that Britain wants to have her peaceful use of them secured to her by an international organization? If that is what she does want. And why does not Russia say she wants peaceful passage through the Dardanelles and the Persian Gulf on the same terms? If that is what she does want.

That Russia should have her ice-free ports is just. That Britain should be sure of her oil from Iran is just. Both just demands can be satisfied if there is a world-organization to keep the peace of the world. But if either or both demand that they should have these things under their sole control, world-organization and world-peace are impossible.



Photo by kind permission of the WRI.

FRITZ KUSTER in his second article on
"The German Problem" discusses

Our burden - and our new fetters

connections, and has more and generally gets more, and more quickly, through them than the non-Nazis do. It has gradually become a by-word here that the English, who are checking vigorous action on our part, are only here to protect the Nazis. We, if we were allowed, should be brutal enough to turn the active Nazis at once out of the great houses they acquired; our sense of justice would relegate them to the quarters they occupied before the Hitler régime.

Fatal results

Much as we all appreciate the attitude of the individual English soldier towards the population, we cannot help fearing that many of the political measures and omissions will later have fatal results. These Nazi officials who terrorised and tormented the non-Nazis have no interest whatever in seeing that everything runs well; on the contrary, the greater the confusion and futility, the easier it will be to revive memories.

Wireless and Press ring with the cry of extermination of the Nazis and of Prussian militarism. Is it not ironical that one of these very Nazis who are to be exterminated is appointed staff-officer of a large public body and then refuses to engage a worker on the ground that he had been convicted for spreading disaffection in the army? There is an ever-increasing accumulation of similar cases.

Meanwhile those who are not to be turned a fraction from their basic democratic convictions have to look on, helpless and furious, while the internal defence front is being weakened from the very quarter that should be aiding it.

ALL this is humanly understandable up to a certain point. We socialists and anti-

nationalists are mostly far too active for the officers. Our demands and desires cause unrest, while all they want is that things should be quiet. Hence a commander would rather appoint a Nazi police officer with an unequivocal National-Socialist record as head of the police than a staunch democratic police official without an officer's experience. The thing fits in—that is what he is most concerned about. And when accusations are received concerning the former Nazi activities of this same official who performs his duties so meticulously, his commanding officer at once adopts a defensive attitude and curses the trouble-breeders. Quite understandable—but politically fatal. 1919 also began like this.

No distinction

Military government says that the Germans denounce too freely from personal motives and that only part of the evidence adduced is sound. Here the fault rests in the first place with the organization of the military government itself. By putting non-Nazis on the same general footing with Nazis in the question of war-guilt, the occupying authorities withheld recognition from the internal defence against Nazism and militarism. Instead of turning to the hardened fighters in the struggle against the war party—that is, in the first place, to the former representatives of the peace movement and the socialists, they turn to Nazi-minded clergy and casual representatives of the middle classes who had come along with an eye to business. We could have got our network of trusted people working down to the remotest village, and the military government could then at least have had acceptable evidence concerning Nazis to be dismissed and officials to be recruited.

IT would take too long to discuss the problem of war-guilt, which is obviously confusing people's minds. Certain as it is that Hitler and the ruling classes systematically prepared for and unleashed the war, it is equally certain that the masses of the people, from herd instinct and cowardice, did not offer that resistance which would have exonerated them. But it is just as much a fact that a determined minority stood its ground to the last. How else did it happen that the concentration camps and gaols, exclusively filled with natives till the outbreak of war, were so overflowing? We also, who spent years in concentration camps, subjected to the control of the Gestapo, acknowledge our share in the material guilt that lies on the whole nation; but we do not feel morally responsible.

To sum up: Hitler's lost war has left us who cursed it a bad legacy. A fresh start is painful and difficult. That is our own burden. But you in England could help us to break off the unnecessary fetters. Remember that each day that checks our full development fans beneath the ruins the smouldering embers of nationalism.

C.B.C.O. BULLETIN

for February has been held up so as to include a report of the Third Reading Debate (Feb. 26) of the

Release Bill

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WHAT has been achieved since the end of the war? Only in the American-occupied zone has there been vigorous action against Nazis. There may be difference of opinion about the method, but at least something has been done. In the English zone also a lot is supposed to have been done, but wherever you go you generally find the Nazis still firmly entrenched.

The military government justifies its behaviour on the ground that its one concern now is to get the German nation over the winter. "If the Nazis were to be dismissed from their posts the civil service machinery would break down and there would be chaos." I know a parish in North Hanover where they have dissolved and re-formed the entire machinery of the Nazi Food Ministry offices, and it works admirably; yet these democratic peasants met with considerable difficulties because they no longer wanted the Nazis whom the higher authorities wished to retain.

Nazis in clover

And so it is in nearly all districts. The Nazis who hold the official positions favour their friends from start to finish. There is a shortage of all materials, and any kind of permit is very hard to obtain. Everywhere you hear that it is the Nazis who get most of the priority with building materials, who have their cars released and get fuel for them while the non-Nazis must go on foot and be overwhelmed with difficulties. The Nazi business man uses his former

LETTERS

The two Russias

As one who has protested against "Observer" in the past may I have the pleasure this time of thanking him for his latest, hopeful, balanced and generous commentary (PN, Feb. 8). The quotations from Dr. Nansen and Prof. Hutchins in particular, seemed to me good examples of the kind of writing which is helpful. Peace-lovers will be grateful for his kinder comments on Russia.

Why, after all, is it merely wish-fulfilment to believe that the qualities of the Russian people portrayed by their classical writers should make their presence felt? As a distinguished man of letters yourself, you would surely agree that the essential qualities of people enshrined in their literature, change little from century to century. Behind the utterances of USSR diplomats should we not remember the people with their warm-heartedness, their religious feelings, and their willingness to suffer for the common good?

And why stigmatize the USSR action in bringing up the question of British policy in Greece as a mere "manoeuvre"? "Observer" must know how much harm is done in international affairs by constant implication of the worst motives. No doubt retaliation was one of the motives. But rightly or wrongly, the actions of the British troops in Greece and Indonesia have caused much concern in the Labour movement. Surely Russia is entitled to voice this apprehension. That her note was peremptory and dogmatic may be conceded.

Equally unhappy was Mr. Bevin's pain that his Government's motives should be impugned by a foreign power. But surely it is all to the good that imperialist actions can be challenged before an international body. America thinks the prestige of UNO has been enhanced. An honest people is more concerned that its own Government should do the right thing than that that fault should continually be found with others.

H. W. RAWLINGS.

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Pacifists and the Church

It was rare, when attending Tribunals, to hear other than a religious objection put forward. Most of the 50,000 COs made a Christian testimony against war. In what Churches are they worshipping today? Not in the Society of Friends, where one might expect to find them. Quaker membership increased in 1944-45, was only 109—two a week. The Pacifist Fellowships in the other Churches are, in some cases, losing members, both ministerial and lay. Pacifists have, in the main, left the Churches.

If there were 50,000 COs, there are probably 100,000 religious pacifists who opposed the war. There must, too, be many Christians coming out of the Forces, who will never forgive their clergy and ministers and congregations for leading them into the War Services. Is the influence of these men and women to be lost in isolation? Is their witness to be just a personal one? Yet there is no Church they can join (except the Society of Friends, which for some reason does not make a wide appeal) which does not offend their deepest convictions.

The Church has failed men badly. Centuries ago, it decided that its interests were bound

up with the State, and it seems that it has got to play the State game to the end. So, apart from war, its testimony has been weak; there can be no recovery for it. A writer in the Sunday Express (1941) said: "We must move from armchair Christianity to armoured car Christianity." Christianity seems to enjoy swinging to and fro between the comfortable inertia of the armchair, and the thrill of the armoured car. And whichever the prevailing mood of the Churches, they are worshipping an entirely different God to ours.

There is now in being a Movement towards a Christian Pacifist Church, whose mere existence is already disturbing the Churches. In it, pacifists could worship in sincerity, and, as a Church bear their pacifist witness, implementing wholeheartedly the social and international gospel of the Man of Galilee.

There seems no alternative to a new Church. As John Middleton Murry so well writes: (Adam and Eve)

"For the position in which we are is one in which the old compromise between the Christian Gospel and the demands of this world has broken down. This compromise was the basis of a civilization, and the civilization has perished, together with the authority of the Christian Church. It has been a long while dying, but the final phase of its dissolution has been terribly swift. If the authority of the Christian Church is ever to be restored, it will be as the authority of a very different Christian Church: a regenerated Christian Church."

We must have a perfect instrument for the high ends we would serve.

FRANK R. HANCOCK.

Free - and vigilant

It has been said that the price of Freedom is eternal vigilance and it is certainly true that if ever vigilance was responsible for any man's freedom it is for mine at this moment. For it is clearly as a direct result of the protest made by the Freedom Defence Committee in a letter published by you (Jan. 18) that the Home Secretary ordered my immediate release from prison on Feb. 11.

I am therefore writing to you to thank you for giving space to the publication of the disturbing circumstances surrounding my prosecution and to ask to be allowed to express through your columns my heartfelt gratitude to the Committee and the 26 signatories of the letter for so willingly giving their support in my defence.

PHILIP SANSON.

26 Willow Road,
Hampstead, N.W.3.

Forget our trespasses

Millions of Christians who are in the habit of praying in their churches and chapels, "give us this day our daily bread," are now finding that daily bread in danger of serious curtailment, if not of vanishing altogether; because they have forgotten the mystical connection of that petition for sustenance with the prayer which immediately follows it, namely: "and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," as read with the footnote by Jesus: "if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

E. S. EVANS.

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Purley, Surrey.

TENSION - AND PEACE

by
GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES

A CHEMIST recently described to me the making of high-tension steel—the fierce heat of the crucible, the repeated skimming of surface dross, the hammering and the tempering. Something analogous happens to Pacifists who try to keep their faith. They cannot escape the tension between idealism and realism, between ends and means, between reach and grasp.

Of war, at its highest ideal of freedom, AE the Irish pacifist could write to De Valera: "If Christ and His Apostles to establish the Kingdom of God had used your means, they would have been execrated to this day." But AE was not only a pacifist; he was pioneer in Irish co-operation, poet and interpreter of human magnanimity, and prophet without honour in his own country and generation. It was in the crucible of the Irish Civil War that men began to distinguish the dross from the pure metal and the scum of words from solid truth, as shown in Sean O'Casey's "Juno and the Paycock," and to see that "liberty" and "democracy" are very thin plasters for the wounds of men and women.

How small a part of all that hearts endure
That part which laws or Kings can cause or cure.

In fact, when the ballot was substituted for the bullet in Ireland, hardly a half of the electors troubled to use the vote they fought for in the first elections of the Senate. "Democracy" is as liable to contentious interpretations as was the Munroe Doctrine which nearly brought us into war with America. In a heated discussion between two Americans one is said to have exclaimed: "Excuse me, but I didn't say that I'd be willing to die for the Munroe Doctrine. All I said was that I didn't know what it meant!"

Not personal conviction

The Liberal reaction against war in 1906, and the Labour reaction in 1923 were democratic enough, but public reaction is not necessarily personal conviction. Lloyd George and Herbert Morrison, the protagonists of Peace in one war, were the protagonists of victory in the next. In fact, the two most eminent pacifists in the last war, George Lansbury and Keir Hardie came to doubt at the end of their careers whether a pacifist should ever take office in Government, or even go into politics at all.

The other day the Archbishop of the Church, which in the past showed little hesitation in backing wars, confessed at the Evangelization Conference that the Church had been "backing the wrong movements" and that the message of the atomic bomb was that "no one, no society, no country was safe unless it could look for its security to those personal relationships of friendship and respect for the immortal soul of man."

Thus Pacifists and Christians alike are confronted by the tension between what Mr. Baldwin

called the 'wholesale' methods of the politician and the 'retail' methods of personality. It is easy to have wholesale views about Germany, Russia, India or Greece, but in reality these names cover millions of men and women and children with all sorts of retail differences and divisions. The complaint against the old Imperialism is that it presumed to govern other nations wholesale for their good; but do not Nationalisms and Socialisms and Communisms equally aspire to become wholesale powers? and the mathematical calculations of counting guns or planes or heads, the affections and imaginations of the human heart are left out of account.

Mark of the beast

WE naturally recoil from a conception of the State as "the coldest of all cold-blooded monsters" as revealed at Nuremberg; but is not "scale" the mark of the beast and of reptilian coldness? The Potsdam proposals and disposals of men by the million must appear so to the hungry homeless hordes evicted from homes in East Prussia and the Sudetenland who perish while statesmen are fiddling with abstract ideals and world-plans in the United Nations Conference.

Nicolas Berdyaev sees the basic conflict of our times in the tensions between individualism—so exalted in Britain and America, with its wild growths of egotism and capitalism, and, on the other hand, the mass Socialisms and Communisms resenting inequalities and seeking to level them by compulsions and coercions and controls; but the Christian category says Berdyaev is neither individualism nor Socialism but "personalism."

Have we yet examined the possibilities and powers of this third category in the tensions between the other two. It is no new alternative in human crisis. The tensions of the Near East in general, and of the Jews in particular, were not less acute during the Babylonian Captivity than today; but the prophets who denounced pagan powers and practices were compelled to turn at last from the race to the "remnant" of persons as the custodians of spiritual hope and vision.

Similarly under the pseudo-security of Roman Peace and Justice, St. Paul, whose appeal to Caesar ended in prison and death, could write thoughts so profound and provoking of action that twenty centuries have not exhausted their interest and inspiration. Yet there was one category more important than even St. Paul's great letters—the personalities of their readers. "For you are our epistles written not with ink but on the fleshy tablets of the heart to be read and understood by all men." Again the remnant of persons was the leaven and light that changed the outlook of Europe when the iron framework of the Empire was breaking.

THESE reflections are not a reason for despising the wholesale methods of securing justice, or peace or prosperity by coercive

controls within the State or between the States, by the United Nations as by the Roman Senate. If we have a higher ideal, let it be a reason for compassion and not for contempt. But if we see a difference between the ideal and the real the aspiration and the inspiration of men, between coercion and conversion, between pacifism and peace-making, the tension between thought and things, between facts and acts must continue with all its crucible experiences and the constant coming of dross to the surface of our own and others' experience under tension.

All creeds are easier to recite than to realize; the Church is finding and admitting as much. There is a saying of Coleridge that "It is infallibly a sign of vulgar mind that it knows not how to distinguish without dividing"; this is patent enough in the crowd-mind of sympathies and antipathies; we have a lot to learn in our ascent from instincts to intuition. The two Irishmen who were brought to Court for fighting explained "We were not really fighting; we were only separating each other." That, too, is possible. The role of a pacifist prophet is not without anguish and tension. A study of that role long ago is worth recalling:

With his whole heart he loved the people he was called upon to test and expose, and that heart was wracked and torn by thoughts of the doom he had to pronounce. Only repentance could avail, the repentance which is not the facile mood offered by many, but arduous, rigorous and deeply sincere in its anguish. At night the trees appear a dark amorphous mass; with dawn the individual trees appear. He had answered the call to him to search for the man, the men beneath the nation. Through doubt and struggle he himself had won the confidence of an immediate knowledge of God; he had proved his solitary conscience under persecution. He had known how personal conviction can overbear the traditions of the past and the habits of one's own generation; how God can hold a single man alone to His will against his nation and all its powers and vindicate him at last to their faces.

(Jeremiah. Sir G. Adam Smith.)

A tragic innocence

THE late Bertram Lloyd's anthology of "Poems written during the Great War 1914-1918" was published in July, 1918—that is before any of the work of the greatest poet of that war (or of the next, for that matter) had appeared in print. He was Wilfred Owen, and he carried the poetry of war to a stillness of intensity beyond the range of any of the writers in this anthology. Of these verses, Siegfried Sassoon's have best stood the test of time. The force of their straightforward irony is undiminished.

But it is not primarily as poetry that verses such as these are to be judged. They are, like so much of the literature produced during the first Great War, a cry of protest, indignation and disillusion. Many of them will seem almost naive to men of this generation, who can with difficulty imagine how unprepared were their predecessors even for the possibility of war. Since 1918 men have lived with the danger of world-war ever before them; after 1945, they will go on living with that danger before them. Nor can it ever be removed now except by the total abolition of war—by whatever means accomplished. But to the men of 1914 the terrors which form the background of man's present existence were totally inconceivable.

If that is remembered, "Poems of the Great War of 1914-18" will be found to have a poignancy all its own: a tragic innocence, that is sometimes directly reflected in its inability to find an appropriate poetic idiom. The experience could not be mastered. The brutality was too unfamiliar.

Copies of the anthology are to be had from Housman's (2s. 6d.).

J. M. M.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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STORY OF THE GREEK SEAMEN

A STRIKE WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR BITTERNESS

re-told by
BILL ROBERTS

DURING the war, Greek seamen, like British seamen, had been allocated to ships by the Merchant Navy Pool. While, however, British seamen were paid their minimum wage during any period of unemployment, the Greeks were given a lump sum of £20 on signing off, which had to last them until they signed on another ship. They still had to pay unemployment as well as sickness and old age pensions insurances.

With the end of the European war, shipping declined in volume, and seamen were out of work for increasingly long periods. The British sea-

men still had their minimum wage, but the Greeks became destitute once their £20 was exhausted, as the insurances for which they had paid were frozen by the Greek Government and could not be touched. The Greek community did come to their help, one boarding-house keeper selling dinners for as little as sixpence, but even these were too dear. At last when about twenty men lay ill in various boarding-houses in Liverpool, it was decided that action should be taken.

The trades unions' traditional method is the strike, but unemployed men cannot strike. What, then, could be done?

Work or bread

ON November 5, 1945, seventy Greek seamen walked into the Greek Consulate in Liverpool and announced that they were going to stay there on hunger strike until either work was found or unemployment assistance was provided for them and for other unemployed Greek seamen. The Consul telegraphed the Greek Ministry of Marine in London.

Two days later three of the seamen were ill, but all were maintaining their fast. During the day Mr. Spire, the Seamen's Union Chairman, submitted a written statement of their demands to the Consul. On

the next day the Ministry of Marine offered subsistence at 7s. 6d. a day to begin three months after a man had been paid off. The offer was accepted by the Union, and London telegraphed the Greek Government at Athens for confirmation. The seamen remained fasting in the Consul's office, however, until confirmation was received.

The next day, November 9, one seaman was so ill that he had to be taken to hospital. The following day seamen in other ports joined in the fast. And so the situation developed, pending confirmation from Athens—seamen in Liverpool being taken to hospital every day, and more seamen joining in the strike in other ports. Some of these seamen were employed, but they restricted their action to remaining without food except for the crew of the "Nadin" who refused to help in putting out a fire on board. At last Athens sent the confirmation and the strike was finished.

FEW strikes can have been conducted with less acerbity on both sides. The strikers embarrassed no one except the Greek Consul in Liverpool, while the Government on its side used no force to break the strike. As usual more distant authorities handled the matter with increasing tardiness. The most noteworthy facts in the whole case, however, are, first, that unemployed men were able to bring strong pressure to bear on a Government without using force and, second, that that Government so quickly recognized the justice of the men's claims and gave way without making a fuss.

WORDS OF PEACE No. 163

The experience of Peace is largely beyond the control of purpose. It comes as a gift. The deliberate aim at Peace very easily passes into its bastard substitute, Anæsthesia. In other words, in the place of a quality of "life and motion," there is substituted their destruction. Thus Peace is the removal of inhibition and not its introduction. It results in a wider sweep of conscious interest. It enlarges that field of attention. Thus Peace is self-control at its widest—at that width where the "self" has been lost, and interest has been transferred to co-ordinations wider than personality. . . . In fact, it is largely for this reason that Peace is so essential for civilization. It is the barrier against narrowness.

—A. N. Whitehead, "Adventures of Ideas."

BEFORE THE SNOWS CAME

● An impression of four months
relief work in Ortona by . . .
HUGH HORSFIELD

ORTONA is a little port on the Adriatic side of Italy. If you went down by the East Coast line before the War, through Rimini and Ancona, you probably remember Ortona as just another picturesque seaport town, with queer-shaped colourful craft in the harbour and sleek wide-horned oxen bringing in the vineyard harvest. The gazetteer compresses it into "Ortona, Chieti, Italy, in. port, wines, cath. pop. 15,670."

Nowadays the record would more truthfully run, "half tn, half cath, vino, pop. 11,000 + 2,500 crosses (soldiers for the use of)." For Ortona happens to lie in that part of the battle ground over which the Allies took seven months to advance seven miles.

WHEN the Germans retreated they destroyed everything that might be of any use to the Allies: even churches had to go if they made possible observation posts. Realizing this, the people of Ortona offered to pull down the high tower of their cathedral stone by stone, if the main building could be spared. But their offer was in vain, and on December 21, 1943, the day of their patron saint, half his cathedral and all of his tower were blown to pieces. After the tide of battle had swept north, the returning refugees flowed in, by train, lorry, ox cart and on foot. They realized that if they did not get back at once someone else would find a use for their remaining oddments of furniture, or even the valuable fragments of timber protruding from the ruins of their homes. For more than half the homes in the Ortona area had been destroyed, and the housing situation was desperate. That was the position when a British refugee relief team moved in, with four ex-Army trucks supplied by UNRRA, and ten members supplied by IVSP. Objective—to repair as many houses as possible before the snows came.

Trouble with the lorries

Right from the start we had trouble with the lorries; shrapnel on the roads punctured the tyres, spare parts were unobtainable, and the Italian petrol depots often ran dry. But even with these drawbacks it was clear that the four trucks were going to do good work. Nearly all the local lorries, horses, and oxen had been destroyed or requisitioned by the rival armies; and our offer of free carriage for building materials cut the knot of transport shortage and reduced building costs by thirty per cent. In the beginning we could carry only enough materials to repair eighteen rooms a week, but at last UNRRA increased our fleet to twenty trucks, so that the 18 rooms became 180, and we could work in nine different communes. Tiles, timber, brick and lime were taken to the rubble-choked, hill-top villages, and to remote farms hidden away at the end of narrow mud tracks.

One lonely farm had been the HQ

CATARRH

THIS commonest of all disease conditions amongst civilised peoples, greatly impairs mental efficiency, lowers resistance to infection, and generally debilitates its innumerable victims. The true remedy is to de-toxicate the system, restore the clean bloodstream of youth, and then reform the diet and other habits of living.

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of a German battery. When the two brothers who owned the farm returned with their families they found the house in ruins and the fields full of mines. These mines had to be removed before cultivation could begin, each mine as it was discovered being dragged out of the ground by the long cord to which it was connected. A day came when one of the brothers was killed by a premature explosion. The other brother had no choice but to continue the dangerous gamble day by day, until in the end he had removed more than a hundred mines.

At another farm the husband had been killed by an unsuspected mine right outside the kitchen door; and the wife had been forced to sell their only horse so that she could buy tiles to re-roof the house. She told me of all her misfortunes at great length, but she had no intention of giving up the struggle.

The people remained cheerful in the most dreadful conditions, but although they worked hard for themselves they had no idea how much more they could do by working together for the general good of the community. In fact, it became so maddening to hear everybody piously hoping for better times and doing so little to bring them about, that we decided to start a service for them, and asked for volunteers from the University at Rome.

During a strike of students fifteen of them came to live with us, and worked at clearing debris around the mined town hall at Francavilla. From the rubble enough material was found to surface a mud road which was the only means of access to a village of 300 inhabitants. The response from the villagers was immediate, boys and men coming willingly to work on the reconstruction of their own road. As a change from the eternal shrug and "Pazienza," it was good to see.

AS the days passed we became more and more conscious of the snow shining on the summit of the great Monte Maiella, twenty miles away; for as the weather worsened so the snow line crept down the mountain side. The autumn rains, with flooded rivers, impassable fords and roads of deep mud, came as heralds of winter, and as I write these lines the snow has fallen on all our villages right down to the sea.

In our four months at Ortona the team helped to provide shelter for over 4,000 people, and if we are a little disappointed that not all the roofs are leak-proof, we feel we have done more than we ever hoped for when we started work last August. Now, like millions more all over Europe, we wait for Spring.

FOR GERMANY, 1945

SOON the last flames will die and the embers of hate cease to smoulder,
And the smoke-clouds lift from our eyes;
Then a lost generation shall climb from the ruins to shoulder
Those burdens too great for the wise.

The old foundations have failed and no pattern or compass
Have we, who would seek to build;
We are young, we are few, and the earth has crumbled beneath us,
But Faith once torn will be healed.

Our eyes are still grimed with the smoke, it is hard to look forward,
And horror has frozen our tears;
We would reach out a hand in the dark to the hands of our brothers. . . .
Have they forgotten the years?

When the innocent sky was our friend, the deep meadows and forests;
The sheep paths over the downs?
And the singing and laughter at night in the inn or the hostel?
The sleepy lamp-lit towns?

Will they come again trusting and free to our dear green country?
Will they ramble once more through the lanes?
Will they sing as we wander with them through their forests and vineyards?
Their broken cities and plains?

Will the hunger pass from their cheeks and the hard eyes soften?
And their children's crying is stilled?
If we give of our little to them when their need is greatest,
That the need of OUR hearts be filled?

RUTH M. WALLIS.

Pacifism and the Social conscience

by FREDRICK LOHR

THE atom bomb and the trial of war-criminals coincide to mark a crucial stage reached in the moral consciousness of mankind. For the first time in history, war is publicly acknowledged to be a crime.

Should jurisprudence succeed in sustaining and defining this popular judgment, then the persistence of pacifists through the ages will have been vindicated. It is perhaps appropriate, therefore, at this time, to reaffirm the social justification of conscientious objection to war, as distinct from the more generally acceptable premise of the right of individuals to make private judgments against social responsibilities.

At first sight it would appear an easy matter to argue in favour of the social validity of pacifism. But reflection upon the subject encounters immediately the difficulty of the definition of pacifism itself. The literature of the PPU is evidence enough; it displays a widely various opinion of what pacifism really is.

Many varieties

There are many varieties of pacifists; ranging from simple, and stubborn "war-resisters," to complex and subtle doctrinaires of "non-violence." The gulf between a negative refusal to fight, and a positive satyagraha of non-violence, is too wide to be bridged by any simple definition.

Conscientious objection resists intellectual discipline, and during this war the Tribunals have grappled with many vehement but thoughtless arguments, many sincere and emotional reactions, many high-principled and scrupulously moral justifications, against taking part in warfare, but apart from "conscience" there seems to be no common ground beneath these "voices of righteous indignation."

And conscience cannot provide common ground, if "conscience" is conceived as something purely subjective. The exclusive, personal—the private—cannot be a meeting place, cannot be the criterion of the "common." But conscience does not exist in a void—"conscientia" is the focal point, the gathering together, of transmitted, given, data. Conscience is nothing if not historical; before the individual conscience, there exists the social conscience.

Now war is primarily a social issue, impacting upon the social body and provoking a social response. The differing responses of individual pacifists to the challenge of war are personal attitudes struck within the social predicament. All relate to it; all are rooted in it; all appeal to it. The purely subjective canon of morality is entirely invalid, and rightly to be repudiated when it is offered—as unhappily it sometimes is.

So that, although pacifism has nowhere yet succeeded in establishing an authoritative philosophy, this is not because it is the vain fruit of

personal egoism, but because it is already justified by the continuity of a living social morality. The intellectual rationalisms of the ethics of individual pacifists in no wise contradict this. Pacifism is socially, if not politically, relevant. The ideal of pacifism is a social aspiration, and pacifism has existed as long as its enemy war.

Social tendency

The social moral consciousness fructifies in understanding within the individual conscience—the individual declares the future norm in advance of general acceptance, but always in line with the social tendency—never against it; the opposition is but apparent. So, John the Baptist made straight the way of the Lord, and Jesus, though rejected by his time, continued in the line of prophesy—to "fulfil." Like pacifism, Christianity is still without its philosophical basis—and the attempts to provide it are as many and various as pacifist apologetics—but the historical advancement of the Christian consciousness is clear and unbroken; and, like pacifism again, Christianity must have appeared at first to be a personal faith—a subjective heresy—whereas now we see and know it to be pre-eminently social; the matrix universal.

All justifications of pacifism, therefore, save those that spring from cowardice, egotism or escapism, are threaded to the progress of moral consciousness, responsive voices to the inaudible social conscience; valid signposts to that future integrity wherein their present divergencies will converge. A seed is known in its flowering, a child in his manhood. It is the fruition that reveals the nature—the end the universality.

The social nature and origin of pacifism will only be fully revealed when war is finally outlawed and society realises pacifism's inherent necessity. Here also, the parallel with Christianity holds: the nature, origin, basis and meaning of the Christian faith are seen, not in the slight and dubious beginnings, but in the mighty flowering of its universal practice.

Revolutionary seed

There is in all the many presentations of pacifist propaganda the seed of Christian revolutionism; the suggestion of a doctrinal affirmation which calls upon society to achieve its moral destiny; the transformation of relationships in terms of the inner dynamic of its historical movement, the will to peace and brotherhood—a social will, translated into word and expressed by the individual conscience.

Many objectors have felt this compulsion to make manifest the personal measure of this social yearning to peace. These years have witnessed many heroic, if sometimes abortive, attempts by "conchie" to build models of the future peaceful society. It is easy to dismiss these as cranky minority experiments, but those who do so fail utterly to recognize the true nature of the pacifist impulse. Even if viewed only as "leavening" influences—and they deserve a more discriminating evaluation—these experiments serve dramatically to demonstrate the essentially social nature of conscientious objection to war.

The roots of pacifism are social. Though some shoots of conscience be at times sickly—the plant itself is sound; rooted in the soil of the historical social consciousness, and society in finally outlawing war, will honour the validity of conscientious objection and so vindicate the pacifist forerunner of the social conscience.

JACK BRIGDEN

Jack Brigden died on Feb. 17, after an illness of some weeks. Many readers will remember his untiring enthusiasm for Esperanto. A text book compiled by him is now in the hands of the publishers.

He was one of the original and most loyal members of the Balham and Tooting PPU Group, and his friends there will miss him very much.

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SOUND FILE IN 'DEVELOPMENT'

THE lack of a Development Officer, able to travel about the country, has presented the Development Committee with the problem of how to maintain the same kind of contact as previously with the areas and groups in the country. The committee is meeting this by asking each of its members to make special contact with one or two areas, and in the course of the year we hope that every area will receive at least one visit from a member of the committee. Several committee members are willing to speak on the organization aspect of the movement's work and requests for speakers will gladly be met.

Full or part-time organizer schemes, financed by the areas with assistance from the Development Fund are continuing in East Anglia, London, North and West of England. Other areas have organizer schemes under consideration, and it is hoped that two areas may undertake temporary schemes this year, as preliminaries to larger schemes. The value of the work done by the organizers is tremendous, and the Development Committee is anxious to see similar schemes initiated in other parts of the country, but the grant available to the committee is limited and almost all the 1946 grant is already allocated to the existing schemes. Only if the income of the movement is increased can we look forward to extending these schemes next year.

Reports of area annual meetings now coming into the office, do indicate the important link which the areas form between the groups and headquarters.

At the beginning of the year we began the division of the membership file and are building up a file of sound members on the basis of all those with whom we have been in touch since the beginning of 1942. A duplicate alphabetical file is also being made. We hope to have the initial work completed by the end of March, and from then on shall only record our membership in terms of the sound file. Many lists sent to groups for checking are still outstanding. It would help considerably if these could be returned.

LILLA TANSLEY.

WHAT THE PPU STANDS FOR

This pledge, signed by each member is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If, after reading *Peace News*, you would like to know more about the PPU, write for information to: The General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The General steps out

Ex-General Baron von Schoenaich is just 80 on February 16, 1946.

IN 1925, prior to the first WRI International Conference, among guests from over twenty countries at Enfield, one uninvited guest was announced—Baron von Schoenaich, of Germany. A tall, handsome man of about 60 years entered. He had been assured by Willi Meyer, of Bremen that he would be welcome. But was he an anti-militarist? We were not quite sure and I don't think he was. For three days he sat and listened and often talked with delegates: only once did he address our conference. Then he went back to Germany to start his campaign. For the succeeding eight years he travelled the length and breadth of Germany addressing great anti-war meetings. Von Schoenaich generally started his lectures with words like this:

"For 39 years I have been a soldier and a good one. I have yet to learn that it is a dishonour to grow wiser as I grow older. I have done with it."

In 1928 he was with us again in Austria; there was no doubt where he stood then. Years later he told me in a London Hotel that it was that first WRI Conference that made him a war resister.

After Hitler came to power he remained steadfast and he spent many months in a concentration camp. The German Peace Society has recently been allowed to reorganize in the British Zone. Their first act was to unanimously reappoint Baron von Schoenaich as President. The good wishes from WRI members throughout the world are extended to him.

H. R. B.

CANADA S.D.P.'s

Vigorous efforts are being made by the Co-operative Committee on Japanese-Canadians to prevent the deportation of the bulk of Canada's 10,000 citizens of Japanese extraction.

All were given the choice of deportation or resettlement in Eastern Canada under restrictive conditions. But now that the war is over and the general atmosphere is much less oppressive several thousands would like to revoke their earlier decision to return to Japan.

Recent statements of the Canadian Government hold out little hope that the deportations will be suspended. The Co-operative Committee point out that the US Government restored Japanese-Americans' full rights early last year, and acted "more justly and more generously" than has Canada.

NPC LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

The National Peace Council resumes its public lunch-hour meetings on next Friday at 1.15 p.m. in the Kingsway Hall, when Mr. Robert Boothby, M.P., will speak on "The Prospect for Europe?" Mr. Boothby has recently returned from France.

A play you must see for yourself

I LEFT the little Lindsey Theatre in Notting Hill Gate, after having seen "The Unknown Warrior," in a vaguely dissatisfied and questioning frame of mind. Was I lacking in sensibility in having found this "acknowledged to be great" play less than profoundly moving and even a little tedious at times? Or were the three players at fault in their stiff, semi-ritualistic representation of it? Or was Paul Raynal, its French author, to blame for overloading his theme with dialogue too unrelievedly complex for an audience to bear without strain and eventual exhaustion?

The play is certainly a remarkable one, both technically and otherwise. Taking three symbolic characters—a soldier home on leave for a few hours, his fiancée, and his father—M. Raynal gives us the quintessence of war, by showing its spiritual effect on human beings intimately concerned in it. (By the way, is not the Father's 1915 attitude to the glory of being a soldier out of date now?)

French qualities

The stark simplicity of the physical situation, the clipped dialogue, and the strong psychological undercurrent which sweeps the play along, are things which often differentiate French drama from our own. Yet I must confess (even if such confession disqualifies me) that I was more deeply stirred by the unsentimental English play called "Journey's End," or by O'Casey's comparatively melodramatic "Plough and the Stars," or by Somerset Maugham's "For Services Rendered." I am not suggesting futile comparisons, but merely indicating what plays about war have moved me personally.

The main thing is, I think, that characters must live in more than a purely psychological sense, they must achieve verisimilitude in a homely, physical way as well. The characters in "The Unknown Warrior" remained for me abstract figures in an artificial situation, symbols existing in a rarified atmosphere of spirituality which kept them beyond the reach of more than academic sympathy.

Over-stylized acting

How much was this due to the way in which they were acted? I felt that a less stylized, more naturalistic treatment would have been better, particularly in such intimacy as the Lindsey Theatre affords. The Father (Wilfred Harrison) was as heavy as lead and as inflexible as wood. The Girl (Geraldine Dimery) played with great intensity, but forced her emotions out at too high and too constant a pitch; she did not draw me within the orbit of her suffering. R. H. Ward, as the Soldier, was the most affecting of the three. He gave colour and variety to his interpretation, and knew the value of restraint; yet he, too, at times, shared the common fault of staginess and formality.

I had every admiration for the technical efficiency of the production, which had obviously received the most conscientious study. The stylized settings by Jenny Ward were beautifully designed and lit.

The production is due to run until March 10. In all sincerity, I commend it to readers. I have expressed my personal feelings with greater diffidence than may be apparent, and I only hope that what I have said will not deter anyone from judging for themselves.

W. H. GELDER.

JOB TO BE DONE

The following extract from a letter received from one of the IVSP sections working in Berlin typifies the need of every relief team.

"I WANT to thank you on behalf of the team for your offer to help us in our work. You know, of course, that we are now working among German civilians and particularly among refugees coming into Berlin from the East. If it is at all possible we would appreciate parcels containing any of the following articles which are so precious here and which are in short supply. They can be parcelled up into 22 lb. parcels and sent through the ordinary post.

Requirements: Cotton, needles, mending and knitting wool. Clothes, old or new, especially children's shoe-mending materials, including nails. Matches, combs. Halibut or cod liver oil capsules, vitamin tablets, calcium and vitamin C tablets.

READERS who have friends working in particular relief sections may like to send them some of the above articles. For those who have no such personal contacts we would suggest (says PPU Immediate Issues Committee) that gifts be sent to Dick Sheppard House where they will be distributed between various relief teams with whom Headquarters are in contact. If any reader would prefer to send direct, the name and address of a personal contact will gladly be provided on application to Gwyneth Anderson.

We are informed that in certain towns surplus army blankets are being sold at "Army and Navy disposal stores" for 10s. 6d. each. In view of the need for blankets in Europe readers may like to take the opportunity of purchasing one or more blankets from these stores and sending them direct to Dick Sheppard House, and what about shoes?

To the Editor

DO you think this boot and shoe subject could be ventilated in PN?

You will remember the letter which appeared two issues before Christmas, signed by Ethel Mannin and Reg Reynolds. I replied suggesting that if all who felt as we did could send a contribution to the WRI or some body of people, we might create a centre where footwear could be made usable.

I feel very strongly that even a not very good pair of shoes is far, far better than ragged round the feet. There must be, in the cupboards of your readers, dozens of pairs of shoes which could be patched up for some poor souls. Don't you think something could be done? There may well be a cobbler among us who would spare some time if leather, etc., were provided. I have been able to collect and make a large amount of clothes, bed covers and footwear, the first two have filled a dozen sacks which have gone to Abbey Road and the last one is at my home as I do not earn enough to get it repaired. At any rate, if anything can be done I will give the £1 just earned in overtime, and send a dozen pairs to anywhere, if anything comes of this.

BARCLAY SAMPSON.

26 Wellington Park, Bristol, 8.

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RUSHMORE GUEST Hse., Selsey, 200 yds. from sea, comfortable homely, terms mod., early booking avoid disappointment. Brochure Victor Smith (Manager Stephen Stoner & Co., Ltd.).

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 5s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

TRAILER CARAVAN wanted, also 350 c.c. motor-cycle. Known makes. BM/DLND, W.C.1.

LADIES' HATS. Limited supply of bow decorated Berets in real leather. Large range of attractive shades incl. Saxe, Powder Blue, Lt. Dk. and Navy Blue, Rose, Cyclamen, Wine, Emerald, Flame, Nigger, etc. Exceptional offer. Suit all tastes. Only 21s. ea., erge. pd. Satisfaction guaranteed. send cash with order stating size (small, med., large) to Centre Supply Sales Service, "Ridgemount," Long Lane, Tilehurst.

HOME FOR SALE! New 14 ft. 6 in. 3-berth modern caravan, permanent living, fittings, £270, offers. "Walden Acres," Hurst, Reading.

WAR RESISTERS International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbeey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c.

NEWS-LETTER and Literature of Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ will be sent free on appln. to Wallace Hancock, 21 Raymond Av., London, E.18. Also parties. of London services.

"A CONFESSION of Faith in War Time" by Stephen Hobhouse. A new and enlarged edition is now available at the old price (6d., pstge. 1d.) from Friends' Peace Cttee., Friends Hse., Euston Rd., N.W.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

MEETINGS, &c.

"WORLD FRIENDSHIP: is it possible?" Young people (15-21) invited international conference Easter at Epsom, Surrey. Lectures, discussion, games, etc. Parties. Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

MERSEYSIDE ADVISORY Cttee. Winifred Rawlins will speak at Friends' Institute, Islington, on Mon., Mar. 11 at 7.30 p.m. Subject: "Humanity at the Cross Roads."

CARDIFF P.P.U. Group. A special series of four talks on "Basic Economics" will be given by Walter Birmingham each Tues. at 7.15 p.m. beginning Mar. 5, Friends Meeting Hse.

ROBERT BOOTHBY, M.P., "Prospect for Europe?" Mar. 8, 1.15, Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, in a new series of lunch-hour mtgs. National Peace Council. Admission free.

W.R.I. NORTH East Regional Conference, Sat., Mar. 9, 3-7 p.m. at the Friends Mtg. Hse., Pilgrim St., Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Bring eatables, tea provided.

SOUTHERN AREA A.G.M., Sat., Mar. 9, at Southampton, Friends Mtg. Hse., Ordnance Rd., The Avenue, 3.30 p.m.

PERSONAL

MAURICE AND Lily Butcher, The Green, Hardingsstone, Northants, announce the birth on Feb. 23 of their son, Stephen.

YOUNG MAN, walker, cyclist and youth hosteller, welcomes friendship, lady, twenties, similar interests, southern Home Counties. Box 308.

JOHN Victory Correspondent, Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

FRIENDSHIPS CONFIDENTIALLY formed. For parties, write 55 Lynwood Drive, Romford.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Parties., stp. Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.Os, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

PACIFIST SERVICE Unit requ. Leader Senior Mixed Club, Assistant Leader Girls. Scope married couple. Trial or maintenance/pocket money basis. Could develop as salaried apptmt. suitable man. Apply 49 Kentwell Close, Honor Oak Estate, S.E.4.

BUSINESS LADY seeks useful middle aged companion for all hshld. duties. Comfortable West End London flat. Suggestions welcomed. Box 304.

YOUTH to assist mrkt. gdn. small-holding. Suit beginner. Prospects and variat. Dungey, Nash Gve., Wokingham, Berks.

COOK, RESIDENT, wanted immediately, cooking for 70. Mod. kitchen and equipment, good conditns. Apply Matron, Westhill Training College, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29.

GEN. FARM wrkr. reqd. for dairy farm; also gardener. C.O. staff, lodgings in village. Manager, Hackwood Farm, Etchingham, E. Sussex.

GUEST HOUSE staff reqd. Dawlish and Newquay. Cook, assist. cooks, helpers, and gardener-handyman. Write giving qualifications: Bishop, "Fairfield," Dawlish, Devon.

ADDITIONAL STAFF reqd. for vegetarian guest hse. either for summer months or permanent. Write: Isabel James, Beck Allans, Grasmere.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

YOUNG MAN, socialist, idealist, fed up town life and business racket wishes contact others interested in running farm on guest hse.-cum-holiday camp-hotel lines. Considerable capital, enthusiasm and initiative. Box 307.

C.O. 2 yrs. experience proof-reading and previously 7 yrs. apprenticed Compositor, seeks suitable position in printing or publishing. Suggestions please to C.B.C.O., Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

C.O. WITH long experience in gents' clothing and outfitting, seeks situation within daily travelling distance of Bromley, Kent. Suggestions please to C.B.C.O., as above.

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MISCELLANEOUS

NATURE CURE—Psychological & Drugless Treatment of Disease by Reginald Bailey, Psychiatrist, Nerve-Specialist and Bates Practitioner (eyesight corrected by natural methods); Daisy E. Bailey, Specialist in Women's ailments and Children's complaints; Reg. J. Bailey, Osteopath, Naturopath. Consultation by appt. 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7868.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders' bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. P. vital clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

Britain's interest in world justice

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Socialism cannot possibly succeed if the workers themselves are not going to pull their weight. If things go on as they are going now, the elemental needs of the community will not be supplied, and all the sweeping reforms to which the Labour government is committed will vanish into thin air. They can be implemented only by the productivity of the nation's workers. If that continues to decline, the Labour government will be undermined.

Self-defeating "interests"

BUT there seems to be a kind of moral paralysis in the Government itself. It does not speak honestly on the domestic situation, for fear of giving offence to its own supporters. In the international field, even Mr. Bevin, who speaks for the nation as a whole when he utters his sense of moral bewilderment by the conduct of Russia, lapses into an intellectually inconsistent defence of British "interests," wherever and whatever they are. Even he seems unable to grasp clearly that Britain can now uphold no "interests" of her own without disaster.

Britain can have but one real interest that is not self-defeating—that is, world-justice. No matter how difficult that idea may be to conceive in detail, that is the only end of world-policy which a Labour Foreign Secretary can pursue without being finally discredited. It is this discrepancy between the new and true interest of Britain and the old and false "interests" which creates the grim contradiction whereby at the end of a year of peace Britain is to have two million of men and women in the armed forces.

Inscription on the flag

MR. BEVIN'S moral courage is genuine, I believe; but it seems limited. It needs to be expanded into intellectual courage—the kind of courage that can formulate, in language comprehensible to the world, the absolute rejection of the concept of Empire and complete loyalty to the concept of Commonwealth.

Most probably that would make no difference to the immediate struggle for power in the world. Russia will not be deterred by any fine words from Mr. Bevin from picking up whatever Britain relinquishes. But in the long run, it is a good thing to nail a flag inscribed with a few clear moral principles to the mast, when the ship looks like sinking. That is to make a virtue of a necessity, no doubt. But is not that the whole art of true statesmanship?

3 REASONS

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A NATIONAL RALLY

Organised by F.O.R., P.P.U., Pacifist Council of the Christian Church and Friends' Peace Committee)

at
Central Hall, Westminster

Saturday March 16th
2.30 and 6.15 p.m.

DONALD SOPER
(in the chair)

James Hudson, M.P. Bertha L. Bracey
Reginald Reynolds Norman Whitney,
Dr. Alex Wood U.S.A.
A. Tegla Davies, Dr. Hugenoltz,
of F.A.U. Holland
Canon Charles Raven

NO ATOMIC WAR

Admission Free. Tickets for Reserved Seats 2s. 6d., and Tea on the premises 2s., may be obtained from
Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House
Euston Road, London, N.W.1

I HAVE been severely taken to task for my recent criticism of the social irresponsibility of the miners. One protest comes from a working miner, but unfortunately it does not throw any light on the situation. Of the genuineness of his indignation there is no doubt. But I hope to persuade him to give his positive views on the situation.

The other defenders of the miners bring forward familiar arguments: the iniquitous treatment of the miners in the past, the lamentable conditions under which they work. But these hardly affect the problem: which is, why does coal output continue to decline in spite of the fact that they have achieved their political aim—nationalization of the mines? It is impossible to accept the proposition that it is not permissible for anyone who has not worked in a mine to criticize the miners. If I have been unjust, I shall gladly withdraw. But I must first be convinced that I have been unjust.

Miners and critics

NEARER the mark, I fancy, is one correspondent's statement that "mentally the miner is a very sick person." Whether miners will like that diagnosis better than social irresponsibility, is doubtful. But the point is that this statement, if true, is only an explanation of their social irresponsibility, not a denial of it.

The same correspondent tells me that to deplore the lack of social responsibility is not to understand the problem. I do not pretend to understand the problem. If it is the mental sickness which causes social irresponsibility which I ought to deplore—well and good. I will deplore that. If I am quite wrong in attributing social irresponsibility to the miners at all, let that be proved, and I will apologise—handsomely. But to draw red-herrings of sentiment across the trail does no good to me or anybody else. If the miners are, by and large, doing all that can be fairly expected of them—that is good enough. I don't ask for miracles—or even Stakhanovism.

NEW PPU JOURNAL ORDER LEAFLET

BUSY secretaries and PN distributors will welcome a free leaflet outlining the purpose of our new PPU Journal (monthly 4d.) which will be available next week. It will include a tear-off order form with provision for inserting a local address or return direct to Peace News, who are distributing the journal on behalf of PPU.

Local secretaries (or Contact Members) and PN distributors should write for a supply of these leaflets, the former to 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, the latter to 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

We shall be glad to send them to individual readers on receipt of a (1d.) stamped addressed envelope.

The PPU Journal will fill a long-felt need in the movement. Make sure that you order your copy!

"Pacifism in Transition"

A conference under this title is being held by Phoenix at Denison House Hall, Victoria, on Sat. and Sun. of next week, Mar. 9-10.

Dr. Donald Soper, Donald Port and Irene Barclay are among the speakers on the Sat. afternoon. At the second session in the evening Dr. Albert Belden, Dr. Alex Wood and Howard Whitten are due to speak. The conference ends on the Sunday morning, when speakers include Leslie Smith, Derek Edwards and Dennis Davis.

Tickets (price 3s. 6d.) are available from 7 Northampton Park, N.1.

ADVISORY BUREAUX CHANGES

CARDIFF.—Secretary now: Mr. Theo B. L. Brown, 1 Rhyd-y-Penau Road, Cyncoed, Cardiff.

NORTH-WEST LONDON.—District Secretary now: Arthur Boccus, 826 Harrow Road, N.W.10.

PLYMOUTH.—New Secretary now: Gilbert Wide, 14 King Street, Plymouth.

BECKENHAM (covering Anerley & Penge).—Secretary now: Ralph Cropper, 50 St. James Avenue, Beckenham.

Delete TINTERN.

NORTH MIDLAND Regional Secretary now Leslie V. Gold, 127 Blake Road, W. Bridgford, Nottingham.

Delete KIRKINTILLOCH.
Add RICHMOND (Yorks). Individual Adviser now W. Arthur Harper, c/o 11 Gordon Crescent, Richmond, Yorks.

HASTINGS.—C. Sawyer now 56 St. Helen's Road, Hastings.

SOUTHPORT.—Robert H. Hawthornthwaite no longer secretary.

BLACKBURN.—Now Arnold J. Leather, "Colleston," Plegkate Road, Brownhill, Blackburn, Lancs.

C.O. 'RELEASE' BILL: TWO AMENDMENTS

THE adjourned Third Reading of the "Release" Bill was to take place in the Lords on Tuesday this week.

On the day after the Third Reading was adjourned, Lord Llewellyn put down two Amendments "to be moved on Third Reading (or on Re-Commitment)" to meet the two points consistently pressed by the Conservative Opposition.

These are: first, that release should be delayed until after Navy and Air Force Groups as well as Army Groups have been discharged; and secondly, that demobilized COs should not be released from labour controls if other people in the industry would not be able to secure release.

The Central Board for COs has been pressing the Government to hold firm on these points.

WRI CONFERENCES

The WRI Conferences are now well under way. In this country, Bristol, Leeds, and London have held highly successful gatherings, from which useful findings about the agenda were formulated. When the series is complete, we hope to carry a longer note about it.

U.S. Socialists appeal for Europe

IN a front page appeal to "Aid Europe's Starving," The Call, the American Socialist Party weekly paper (Dec. 24) writes:

"This suffering is also in no small part a product of American policy, or lack of policy, which permitted the complete destruction of the European economy under the impact of vengeance, hate, and extravagant nationalism. We are responsible for the repairing of our own terrible mistake.

"Fortunately there are, in our own and other countries, food surpluses. To move them is a necessity for the health of our own agriculture. In the face of desperate human needs it would be criminal to support prices by destroying surpluses or reducing production.

"We, therefore, call upon the American people to insist on honest and efficient distribution of a more generous food allowance than is now contemplated. The basis must be solely of human need. . . . we urge Congress and the President, if necessary, to reimpose a system of rationing. This might be as essential to the conquest of starvation as it was for military victory over enemy nations."

The appeal urges a prompt Congress decision on UNRRA's 1946 appropriation; restoration of mail service to and from Germany, Austria and Hungary, with a right for individuals to send food and for qualified private agencies to distribute it.

It also calls for increased support of the many organizations for relief, and especially the formation of CARE (Co-operative for American Remittances Abroad), which is directed by Donald Nelson.

BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P. SUPPORTS 'SAVE EUROPE'

SOME 65,000,000 persons in Europe are trying to exist on only half the British ration.

This fact—was emphasized at a recent meeting at Palmers Green in support of the "Food for Europe" appeal endorsed locally by Mr. Beverley Baxter, M.P., the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Southgate, and others. It was decided to form the Southgate and Wood Green Food Relief Committee. Those interested should communicate with the hon. secretary, Eric R. Sly, of 6 Wilmer Way, N.14.

Rev. B. C. Hopson, vicar of Southgate, is chairman and Mr. George Parr, treasurer. All three officers acted in similar capacities on behalf of the local Famine Relief Committee, which sought to aid occupied countries during the war.

Mr. Parr reported that he had so far received £46 as a result of the local appeal.

Volunteer builders wanted

Wheathill Bruderhof Community, Bromdon Farm, Burwarton, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, would greatly value the help of men and women wishing to work with them for a time on the farm and in the construction of more buildings.

PPU and UNO

PPU Immediate Issues Committee were anxious that some contact should be made with the delegates to the United Nations on behalf of the PPU. The possibilities of a meeting for delegates or a request that the different delegations should receive representatives of the PPU were turned down in favour of a letter addressed to every delegate. This letter has now been sent over the signature of the Chairman asking that delegates would use their personal influence both within the counsels of the United Nations and with their own Government to secure consideration of some of the issues which we believe to be vital, such as Atomic Energy, Abolition of Conscription, Amendment of the Charter and Relief for the Suffering.

SEEDS INTO BULBS

In the Daily Express (Feb. 21) Bob Crisp reported the phenomenal success of the plan for British and Dutch towns to "adopt" each other and to exchange sporting visits with their opposite number.

Already 30 English towns have made their "adoptions" and there is a Dutch waiting list of another 35, he writes.

TOWNS are paired off, as far as possible, according to environment and tradition. You will find Liverpool with Amsterdam, Oxford with Leyden, Croydon with Arnhem, and so on. First interchanges of visits took place when Woolwich sent its mayor and a football team to Maastricht.

The seed sown in London 18 months ago will blossom into ripeness at Whitsun, when extensive and ambitious programmes have been prepared by a number of these relations-in-sport.

Hull, for instance, is sending 140 people to Rotterdam, including two football teams and a swimming team: Liverpool is getting a Rugby team from Amsterdam, and Amsterdam wants to stage a Liverpool exhibition: Arnhem wants 1,000 sportsmen visitors from Croydon before the end of the year. . . .

This is worthy of adoption by all the Governments of the world. There should be a special committee of UNO to take over the activities of this movement and make them operative not only between Holland and Britain, but between all the nations of the world.

The people of Woolwich will never contemplate war against the good folk of Maastricht who made them so welcome. You ask the Woolwich people who went there.

Multiply that a millionfold in a million towns and hamlets all over the world and it does not lose its potency."

"No atomic war"

Pacifists from all over England are booking seats for this big National Rally and Public Meeting to be held at Central Hall, Westminster, on Sat., March 16. There are to be two sessions, at 2.30 and 6.15 p.m., and Dr. Donald Soper will be in the chair.

James Hudson, MP, Reginald Reynolds, Dr. Alex Wood, Professor Norman Whitney (Professor of English at Syracuse University, USA), Bertha Bracey, A. Tegla Davies, of the FAU, Canon Charles Raven and Dr. Hugenoltz (a Dutch pacifist who spent the war years in occupied Holland), are among the speakers.

Admission will be free, but a seat may be reserved for both sessions for 2s. 6d., or for parties of 12 or more, for 1s. each. Tea will be obtainable on the premises for 2s. per head. Posters, handbills, seat and tea tickets can all be obtained from Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

This is the first meeting of united pacifist witness held since 1939, and if the hall is filled it may make a distinct impression upon public opinion. The Immediate Issues Committee of the Peace Pledge Union particularly asks members not only to come themselves but to make every effort to make the meeting known.

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